

REPORT
OF THE
SECRET COMMITTEE
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ORDERED TO BE PRINTED THE 15th OF MARCH,
1799.

(This Report is very voluminous, and as the first Six General Heads chiefly refer to Facts and Documents already in the possession of the Public, we have of them given only an abstract.)

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1799.



REPORT

STATE OF NEW YORK

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REPORT

OF THE

SECRET COMMITTEE.

THE Committee, to whom the several Papers referred to in His Majesty's Message of the 22nd of January, 1799, and which were presented (sealed up) to the House by Mr. Secretary DUNDAS upon the 23d day of said month, by His Majesty's Command, were referred; and who were directed to examine the matters thereof, and report the same as it shall appear to them to the House, state, that they have proceeded in obedience to the orders of the House, to the consideration of the matters referred to them, and that they have been prevented from sooner laying before the House the result of their examination, not only from the extent of the matters which came before them, but because some of the recent circumstances which they have to state, could not with propriety, have been disclosed at an earlier period.

The Committee state their having found the clearest proofs of a systematic design, long since adopted and acted upon by *France*, in conjunction with Domestic Traitors, and pursued up to the present moment with

unabated perseverance, to overturn all the existing establishments in this Country and Ireland, as well as to dissolve the connection between the two Kingdoms.

The Committee state, that the chief hope of accomplishing this design has rested on the propagation of those principles which produced the French Revolution, by means of Political Societies, which have already produced the distractions and calamities of Ireland; and that in this Country similar measures have been attempted, and though these have been hitherto defeated by the vigilance of Government, and the general good sense and loyalty of the Nation, the object is not yet abandoned. The utmost diligence is still employed in endeavouring not only to sustain and revive those Societies whose seditious and treasonable purposes long since attracted the notice of Parliament, but to extend their correspondence to every part of this Kingdom, to Ireland, to France, and to those places on the Continent where French Emmissaries are established; and to institute new Societies formed on the same plan with those which have produced such pernicious effects in Ireland.—The extent and uniformity of this systematic Conspiracy are equally striking. The formation and structure of all these Societies, in this Country, in Ireland, and on the Continent, are similar; their views and principles are the same, as well as the means which they employ to extend their influence. A continued intercourse and concert has been maintained from their first origin to the present moment; sometimes between the Societies themselves, sometimes between their leading Members; and a frequent communication has been kept up with the Government of France: to which they appear to look as their Protector and Ally, and which has repeatedly furnished an asylum
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to those, who, on account of their principal share in those criminal transactions, have become fugitives or outlaws from the British Dominions.

The Committee state, that in giving the grounds of this opinion, although they will have much and important new matter to lay before the House, yet they will also be obliged to recall to their recollection many particulars which have already been laid before Parliament, but upon which new lights have been thrown, by the events which have since occurred, and the subsequent intelligence which has been received. The defeat of all the attempts hitherto made on the public tranquillity, the Committee in the strongest terms ascribes to the laudable vigilance of the persons filling those departments of the Government to which this duty has peculiarly belonged.

The Committee then, under the *General Head*, "*View of the Nature and System of the Society of United Irishmen, as fully established in Ireland*,"—(which forms the first in the Report,) enter into a comprehensive detail of the formation and proceedings of that description of persons, which we the more readily omit in *this Abstract*, as these are already so fully before the Public in the Secret Reports of the two Houses of Parliament in Ireland, forming the chief documents upon which this statement is founded.

The Second General Head is intitled, "*Institution of United Irishmen in 1791; and Rise of different Societies in Great Britain*."

The Committee for the purpose of elucidating the attempts to form similar Societies in this Country, and the perseverance with which the system is pursued, deem it necessary to recur to the period of the formation of such Societies, and to trace their progress and intercourse to the present time.

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The Society of United Irishmen was established in 1791—other Societies in Great Britain, particularly *The Constitutional Society*, which had long existed, but about this time assumed a new character; *The Corresponding Society*, instituted in the Spring of 1792; and the Societies of Persons in Scotland terming themselves *The Friends of the People*, which originated about the same period, appear to have adopted, in their fullest extent, all the extravagant and violent principles of the French Revolution.

The Committee next proceed to detail the objects and proceedings of these different Societies, which we conceive to be sufficiently known to our Readers to render a recapitulation of them here unnecessary.

The *Third General Head*, comprises the “*first open attempt in Scotland*.”—This relates the proceedings of the Scotch Convention in 1792—advertises to the Trial of *Muir*, in August 1793—notifies the *Delegations* made by the English Societies to the Scotch Convention in October 1793—the attendance of *Hamilton Rowan* and the Hon. *Simon Butler*, Irish Delegates at this Convention—its change of title to “*The British Convention of Delegates of the People*,” &c. and its adoption of the forms and phrases of the National Convention of France.—After substantiating, from authentic documents, the views of this dangerous Assembly, the Committee state their dispersion in December 1793, but not without the active exertions of the Magistracy—their perseverance in meeting privately, and the identity of their views with the United Irish in Dublin, from a resolution of the latter to receive the Members of the Scotch Convention thus dispersed “as Brothers and Members of their Society.”

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The *Fourth General Head*, is entitled "*Attempts to assemble a Convention of the People in England.*"—Under this head is taken a clear and satisfactory review of all the proceedings of the English societies in their correspondence and intercourse with France, which are fully detailed in the Reports of 1794, but which the Committee think it material again to advert to—Under this comprehensive and important Head they bring into review the addresses of the Societies—the Meeting at Chalk Farm, April 14, 1794—the measures taken for disseminating sedition, by itinerant Members dispersing themselves through the Country, and the dissemination of *Paine's* and other works of a similar tendency.—The zeal of the Country Societies outran the instructions of the Agents, whose object it was to point the wishes of individuals to Universal suffrage until after the Convention was assembled.—No caution of prohibition, however, could prevent the country Societies from shewing their confident anticipation of the overthrow of the present System.—The expected convention was prevented from assembling by the Arrests which took place, and the suspension of *The Habeas Corpus Act* in May 1794.

The Committee adverts to the Trials of *Thomas Hardy*, *John Horne Tooke*, and *John Thetwall*, in November 1794; and states "that the evidence given on those Trials, established, in the clearest manner the grounds on which the Committees of the two Houses of Parliament had formed their Reports in 1794; and shewed, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the views of these persons and their Confederates, were in their nature completely hostile to the existing Government and Constitution of this Kingdom, and went directly to the subversion of every established and legitimate authority."

authority.”—The Committee conclude this Head by adverting to the Trials and Conviction for Sedition of *Redhead*, alias *Yorke*, and of *Gale* and *Davidson* in July 1795.

The *Fifth General Head*, “*Further Proceedings subsequent to the Arrests in 1794*,” begins by stating, that disclosures upon the Trials, the detentions, and the powers vested in Government by the Act “to empower His Majesty to secure and detain such persons as His Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government,” had broken for a time the measures of the Disaffected; but they never appear for a moment to have relinquished their original design; and a secret system of Direction was adopted, similar to that of the United Irishmen.—The Committee advert to the seditious tendency of the Meeting at Copenhagen-House in October 1795—the consequent attack upon His Majesty’s Person, in his progress to Parliament, and the passing of the salutary Laws for the better prevention of Treason and Sedition, and the protection of His Majesty’s Person in January 1796.—They next notice the suppression of the Seditious Lectures, the toleration of which was a disgrace to the Metropolis, and the measures taken to evade the Acts against Treason and Sedition.—By the arrest of *John Binns* and *John Gale Jones* at Birmingham, in March 1796, a check was a second time given to the progress of Sedition and Treason, and immediate danger averted, but the attempts to poison the minds of the lower orders of the people was pursued with unabating perseverance. Its influence extended to the Fleet, and produced the Naval Mutiny in April, 1797. The persons principally engaged in it were United Irishmen.—“The Mutineers (say the
“ Committee) were bound by secret oaths to the per-
“ petration

“ petration of the greatest crimes. An attempt was
 “ made to give to the Ships in mutiny the name of
 “ *The Floating Republic*, and this attempt was coun-
 “ tenanced both by Papers published in France, and
 “ by a Paper here called *The Courier*, which has on
 “ many occasions appeared almost equally devoted
 “ to the French Cause.”—The Committee proceed
 to detail the objects of the Mutineers, and to notice
 the various attempts since, to seduce both Soldiers and
 Sailors from their duty; in consequence of which
 were passed the Acts against the seduction of Troops,
 and against unlawful Oaths.

The Committee having thus traced the chief trans-
 actions which took place in this Country, connected
 with the general design of the Conspiracy, nearly to
 the period when its effects were manifested in their
 most dreadful and formidable shape in Ireland, by
 the Rebellion in that Country last summer; and hav-
 ing stated, that either with a view to that very Rebel-
 lion, or in consequence of it, the Societies in this
 Country entered into a still closer connection with the
 Society of United Irishmen, and assumed a shape
 more similar than before to that extraordinary Com-
 bination, proceed to review the “ *Progress of the So-
 ciety of United Irishmen, till the period of the Rebel-
 lion; its intercourse with France, and with leading
 Members of Societies in this Country;*” which forms
 the SIXTH GENERAL HEAD.

Under this head are detailed the treasonable Cor-
 respondence of *Jackson*, an Irish Clergyman, with
 France in the year 1794, with the confession and self-
 conviction of *Arthur O'Connor*, *M'Nevin* and *Em-
 mett*—The Expedition of General HOCHÉ in Decem-
 ber 1796, concerted with Lord *Edward Fitzgerald*
 and *Arthur O'Connor*—the missions of *Lewins* and

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M'Nevin

M^r Nevin in 1797—and the connection of the United Irishmen with new Societies in England. The missions of *O'Coigly* in 1797 and 1798, are particularly noticed, and his seizure at Margate with his Confederates detailed; and it is added, that it appears to the Committee that both from previous and subsequent information, that *Arthur O'Connor*, who had been to the moment of leaving Ireland, one of the Members of the Irish Directory, was not only going to France in the confidence that, when there, he should be considered and received as an Accredited Agent, but was confidently employed by the remaining Members of that Directory, who were at that time dissatisfied with the conduct of *Lewins*.

The remaining part of the Report is so important and interesting, that we should think we did an injustice to our Readers and the Public in general, if we did not present it in the very words of the Committee.

SEVENTH GENERAL HEAD.

Further intercourse between the United Irishmen, the French Government, and the British Societies; formation of new Societies, and their proceedings.

At the Meetings of the *London Corresponding Society*, for above two years before this time, it had been avowed, that the object of the Society was to form a Republic, by the assistance of France. Reform in Parliament, or even Annual Elections, or Universal Suffrage, were therefore no longer mentioned.—Your Committee have abundant reason to believe, from the information laid before them, that a person of the name of *Asbley* (one of the persons arrested in 1794,) and who had, for a long time, been Secretary to this Society, was now acting as their Agent at Paris, and had recently given them hopes
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of the success of a French army. Meetings were held to contrive the means of procuring Arms, to enable them to co-operate with a French Force in case of an Invasion. The leading Members of the disaffected Societies were also in the habit of frequenting an occasional Meeting, which was held at a Cellar in Furnival's Inn, and was first formed for the purpose of reading the libellous and treasonable Publication, called "*The Press*." This place gradually became the resort of all those who were engaged the most deeply in the Conspiracy. It was particularly attended by *Arthur O'Connor* and *O'Coigly*, previous to their attempt to go over to France; and by the persons chiefly instrumental in carrying on correspondence with the Irish Conspirators; and secret consultations were repeatedly held there, with a view to projects, which were thought too dangerous and desperate to be brought forward in any of the larger Societies. Among these plans, was that of effecting a general insurrection, at the same moment, in the metropolis, and throughout the country, *and of directing it to the object of seizing and assassinating the King, the Royal Family, and many of the Members of both Houses of Parliament.*—An Officer, of some experience in his Majesty's service, was selected as their Military Leader; and sanguine hopes were entertained, that they could command a sufficient force to effect their desperate purpose, in the first instance, by surprize. But although the apprehension, that they could not as yet collect sufficient numbers to maintain and secure their advantage, appears, for the time, to have deterred them from the attempt, yet the general language held among these persons, at this period, proved, that they had brought themselves to the

opinion that matters were nearly ripe for measures of open violence.

Attempts were at the same time made to form in London, upon the plan of the *United Irishmen*, the *Society of United Englishmen*, or, *United Britons*, before referred to; and *O'Coigly* and *John Binns*, appear to have been leading persons in that design. It was proposed to divide this Society into four Districts, including a large part of the coasts of this kingdom the most exposed to Invasion:—And it was also in contemplation to combine the operations of this Society with those of the *Society of United Irishmen*; of which your Committee will find it necessary separately to take notice.

Most of the Societies through England, which had used to correspond with the *London Corresponding Society*, had also about this time adopted the same plan of forming Societies of *United Englishmen*; and finding their communications by writing to be hazardous, they avoided, as far as possible, the keeping any papers; used cyphers, or mysterious words, in the few writings that passed between them, and principally carried on their intercourse by Agents, who went from place to place, and were recognized by signs, which were frequently changed. Many ignorant or inconsiderate persons throughout the Country, were gradually involved in these criminal transactions; and the influence of the destructive principles from which they proceeded, was still further extended by the establishment of Clubs among the lowest classes of the community, which were open to all persons paying one penny, and in which Songs were sung, Toasts given, and Language held, of the most seditious nature.

Information having been received of a Meeting of
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United Englishmen, to be held in a house in Clerkenwell, Warrants of Arrest were issued, and persons were apprehended on the 18th of April 1798. There was found upon the Secretary of the *London Corresponding Society* (who appears to have officiated as President at the Meeting), the Oath proposed for the *United Englishmen*, set forth in the Appendix; another oath of the same nature, was found under the table; and also a printed Constitution of the Society of *United Englishmen*, set forth in the Appendix.

Information having also been received of an Extraordinary Meeting of the Delegates and Secretary of the *London Corresponding Society*, intended to be assembled at a large room in Wyche-street, on the 19th of April, 1798, the persons there assembled were likewise arrested; and from the discoveries made in consequence of these Arrests, the connection between the *London Corresponding Society* and the *London Society of United Englishmen* was clearly established.

It appeared that about Forty Divisions of *United Englishmen* had been formed in London; about Twenty of which had their regular places and days of meeting; and that many similar Societies were forming in different parts of the Country. With respect to these latter, it was intended that the different Counties in Great Britain should, respectively, be divided into Districts; in each of which a central Society was to be established in the principal Town, and was to carry on a constant correspondence, both with the smaller Societies in that District, and with the General Society in London: and this system was so constructed as to admit of still greater subdivision, if the increase of numbers had been such as the Leaders hoped.

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It appears to your Committee, that the chief progress made in the formation of Societies of *United Englishmen* was in London and the parts adjacent, and in Lancashire and some parts of the West of England and Wales, more immediately communicating with Ireland, and in which there were many United Irishmen, either as residents, or as fugitives from their country.

At Manchester, and the adjacent country in particular, the plan of these conspiracies was extending itself in the most alarming manner; and they were much promoted by the activity of the United Irishmen, of whom there are very large numbers resident in that neighbourhood. Great numbers of printed copies of the 'Constitution of *United Englishmen*' have been discovered in Manchester and the neighbourhood; and it is evident that the Society was making great progress, when it was checked by the arrest of several of its Leaders in 1798.

A Society of *United Englishmen* had been established in and about Manchester before the year 1797. In the beginning of that year it had consisted of about fifty Divisions, and in the year 1798 had extended to about eighty.—Each of these Divisions consisted of not less than fifteen Members, and was again subdivided when the number of its Members exceeded thirty six. This Society has been most particularly active in the most wicked attempts to seduce the Soldiers in different Regiments; for which purpose they adopted a system of more particular secrecy, and it has therefore been difficult to discover the extent of these crimes; but the general good conduct of His Majesty's Forces, of every description, in this Kingdom, affords the most satisfactory proof that their diabolical practices have not been successful

ful in any considerable degree. The Test used for the Soldiers is set forth in the Appendix. In other respects the Society has followed the United Irish and the *United English* formed in London, in their Constitution, their Test, and their signs of Secrecy; and its operations have been conducted with the same mystery, and under the same direction; the whole being governed by the persons who form the Committee of *United Englishmen*, styled—"The National Committee of England," who are, apparently, unknown to the rest of the Members of the Society, though their dictates are implicitly obeyed. They were the more induced to acquiesce in this system, and to obey implicitly the directions of their Leaders, from the persuasion with which they appear to have been universally impressed, that persons of higher situations in life afforded them countenance and pecuniary aid; though, from circumstances of caution, those persons had not become actually Members of the Society; or, if they were Members, concealed the fact with considerable care, and did not attend the Meetings. In some degree this persuasion may have been well founded; but your Committee are inclined to think that some art was used to strengthen this impression for the purpose of giving greater encouragement to the Members in their hopes of final success.

The Societies in the country connected with Manchester have been formed into twelve districts, each of which sent a Delegate to the Committee, called, The County Committee; which appears to have corresponded, not only with the National Committee of England, but also with the National Committee of Ireland.

The intercourse between the United Englishmen

in these parts and the United Irish, appears indeed to have been continual; many of the United Irish frequently passing and repassing between Cheshire or Lancashire, and Ireland, and frequently visiting the English Societies. Among the Persons who have been thus travelling from one Country to the other, your Committee have remarked O'Coigly who repeatedly visited Manchester, Stockport, and other places in the neighbourhood; and particularly in the year 1797, when he was received with marked attention—He came there again in 1798, on his return from Ireland after his journey into France before-mentioned. He then wore a military dress, and passed by the name of Captain Jones, the same appellation by which he was introduced, by Arthur O'Connor, to Mr. H. Bell, of Charter-House Square, from whose house O'Connor took his departure, previous to his arrest at Deal. The accounts which have been obtained of his conversation and conduct at Manchester, leave no room to doubt the objects of his different journies between Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and particularly of his intended journey to France, which was prevented by his arrest, and there appears also little reason to doubt, that many, both of the United Englishmen and United Irish, at Manchester and in its neighbourhood, were aware of the general purport at least, of his mission: and anxiously expected that assistance from France, of which they received, from him very strong assurances.

The Society at Manchester seems to have been the central Society of an extensive district; and to have been managed by a very zealous and active Committee. It frequently sent Delegates to places in the neighbourhood, and to various parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Cheshire.

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fested itself and from which Emissaries were sent into different parts of the Country, for the purpose of increasing the numbers of the Society, and disseminating what they termed, 'Political Knowledge.'

The Societies thus formed in Scotland, appear to have been reduced to a system almost as regular and compleat as that which was established in Ireland; the outlines of the plan were the same, and the studied secrecy of the proceedings, and the gradations of internal arrangement, formed its great characteristic. By a general rule of their Association, no Society was to consist of more than sixteen Members, and when any Society had obtained a number of Members exceeding sixteen, it was to divide itself into two Societies. In some small Towns there were three or more such Societies, all of which were sometimes assembled, by their individual Members, or by a Committee from each Society; and such Assemblies were termed 'Parochial Meetings.' Each of these Parochial Meetings had a Secretary, who was also Treasurer; and one or two Delegates were chosen to represent the Parochial at the County Meeting, which was composed of Delegates from all the Parochial Meetings within the County or District, and was held every six weeks. The Delegates were elected by ballot; but the ballot was so conducted, that no Persons knew on whom the choice fell, except the Secretary, and Persons chosen. This election was sometimes made by each Member whispering in the ear of the Secretary the name of the Persons for whom he gave his vote; and as there could be no material check on the declaration of the Secretary, it is evident that the election of Delegates might be managed in any manner most agreeable to the Leaders of the Society. The meetings called 'County Meetings' were
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not restricted to the known Divisions of the Counties, but were composed of Delegates from Parochial Meetings within either larger or smaller Districts, according to the number of United Scotsmen in each neighbourhood. At the County Meetings, Delegates were elected, to represent the Societies at a 'National Meeting,' in the same secret manner as was used for the election of the Delegates to the County Meetings; and the place of that meeting was not generally disclosed. The Secretary of the County Meeting gave the Delegate, when chosen, a small slip of paper, containing the name of a Person to whom he was to apply, and who was to take him to the place of the National Meeting. This Person was called '*The Intermediate.*' The Counties also were distinguished by numbers, and not by their names; and the Delegate received, on another slip of paper, the number of his County, and the time appointed for the National Meeting.

The Meeting assuming this name was a Committee formed of Delegates from the County Meetings, and assembled every seven weeks; and there the most important business of the Society was transacted. This Meeting received Reports from a Secret Committee, and nominally directed its conduct, but the Secret Committee really had the chief management. This Committee was elected from amongst the Delegates at the National Meeting, in the same secret manner as those Delegates had been chosen at the County Meeting, the persons elected being only known to the Secretary; and the Committee, thus secretly formed, did not disclose itself in the transaction of business; all of which was conducted through the intervention of a person (already noticed) called '*The Intermediate;*' who delivered their or-

ders, and who was the same person to whom the Delegates had been directed to apply for information respecting the place of assembly of the National Meeting. Except, therefore, to the Intermediate, to the Secretary, and to each other, the persons composing the Secret Committee remain wholly unknown.

Every proceeding was involved in the same mysterious secrecy; and though this system of blind obedience had the effect of disgusting and alarming some of the Delegates, who perceive themselves to be instruments in the hands of an unknown authority, for purposes, of which the extent was never fully disclosed to them; yet the Committee, thus formed, continued to preserve its general influence; disbursing at its pleasure the money collected; giving all orders for the places of the National Meetings; sending Missionaries, disseminating Papers, receiving information, and conducting every part of the business without controul.

The National Meeting was generally, if not always, held in or near Glasgow; and from Reports of what passed at those Meetings, it appears that they corresponded with the Society of United Britons, and sent Delegates to England, and received Delegates from thence. When the Meeting broke up, each Delegate received a Note of the time appointed for the next Meeting, which he was to deliver to the Secretary of his own County Meeting, when the new Delegate was elected.

Their communications with different parts, and particularly with England, were seldom carried on in writing: some Papers, however, have been discovered, which clearly show that the Society had the most dangerous objects in view; and that some of its
Members

Members were sanguine enough to profess an opinion, "that if the flattering accounts which they received from London were real, the emancipation of the Country was at no great distance, when they should rally round the Standard of Liberty."

This System of Union, as well as that of the United Englishmen, was evidently borrowed from Ireland; and there is reason to believe that it was introduced by Delegates from that Country. Signs were adopted for the purpose of distinguishing the Members, as was practised in Ireland; but the knowledge of the signs seems to have been only imperfectly diffused; they never have been generally understood; or having been altered at different times in different places, without concert, were never uniform in all parts of the country.

In their sanguine expectation of success, these Conspirators formed wild and extravagant Plans of seizing, in the same night, all the leading People over the whole Island. If these persons should resist, they were to be put to death; if they submitted quietly, their lives and property were to be spared, but they were to be kept in custody till a new Constitution should be formed, which was clearly meant to be conformable to French principles.

An Oath or Test was formally administered, and Printed Papers were circulated, under the title of "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of United Scotsmen;" a Copy of which is set forth in the Appendix.

The measures of this Conspiracy were disconcerted by the arrest of Mealmaker, of Dyer, and of Archibald Gray, the latter of whom, after his Indictment, escaped to the Continent, and has become a Member of a
Society

Society at Hamburgh, which will hereafter be noticed, by the name of "*The Philanthropic Society.*"

In addition to this view of the Proceedings of the Societies both in England and Scotland, at this period, it is material to remark, that whilst the Rebellion was at its height in Ireland, there were found individuals, in this Country, who so strongly manifested their desire to support the cause of the Rebels, that they became the objects of Criminal Prosecution. Among these, a man of the name of Martin Donovan, was indicted for distributing, at Gosport, the Address stated in the Appendix, intituled, "An Irishman's Address to his Countrymen in England;" the contents of which perhaps might have warranted a prosecution for a higher crime, and are so striking a specimen of the intentions of the disaffected, that although the particular instance relates only to the conduct of one individual, your Committee have thought it highly deserving of notice. This man was convicted at the last Summer Assizes at Winchester, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In pursuance of the same Plan, the United Irishmen in this Country have been incessantly labouring to disseminate their principles, both by means of secret Combinations among such of them as have found their way into the Naval Service, and by extending their Societies both in the Metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom. The extent to which these practices have prevailed, and (notwithstanding repeated instances of detection and punishment) are still carried on in the Fleet, has been too fully demonstrated by the evidence which has appeared in a variety of Courts Martial, the Proceeding of which have been laid before your Committee, and which contain matter so serious and important, that your Committee have
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thought it right to insert an Abstract of them in the Appendix. It appears that Oaths have been tendered by the Mutineers to the Crew, "to be United Irishmen, equal to their Brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the King or his Government."—That they have acted in the professed expectation of assistance from France; with the express view of co-operating, for the expulsion of the Protestants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic Government; and it has been part of their Plan to murder their Officers, to seize on the Ship, and carry her to France or Ireland.

On another occasion, the Oath has been as follows: "I swear to be true to the Free and United Irish, who are now fighting our cause against Tyrants and Oppressors, and to defend their Rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret; and I do agree to carry the Ship into Brest the next time the Ship looks out a-head at sea, and to kill every Officer and Man that shall hinder us, except the Master; and to hoist a green Ensign with a Harp in it, and afterwards to kill and destroy the Protestants."

The Mutineers on board one of His Majesty's Ships appear to have been engaged in the plan of carrying the Ships to France, in expectation that they would there be promoted in proportion to their crimes; that one of their Ringleaders was to be appointed Captain, and that they were then to proceed with the French against Ireland; and this deep laid villainy was disguised and aggravated by a degree of hypocrisy and imposture, scarcely to be paralleled; the particulars are stated in the Appendix.

The Mutineers in another ship were proved to be connected with Corresponding Societies at Nottingham.

ham. The Oath which they attempted to administer was, "to carry the ship into an Enemy's Port, either French, Dutch, or Irish;" and they meant, in the event of being brought into action with an Enemy's Ship, to shoot their own officers on the quarter deck.

While these proceedings of the United Irishmen in the Fleet exhibit so dreadful a picture of their sanguinary designs, and of the similarity of their views and principles to those which have produced so much calamity and bloodshed in Ireland, their conduct on shore has not been less deserving of the most serious attention. Your Committee have no hesitation in stating, on the clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circumstances, that among the various bodies enlisted, in any part of Great Britain, for the purposes of Sedition and Treason, the Societies which have been formed by the United Irishmen in this country, are in all respects the most formidable, particularly at the present moment; whether considered with a view to their combination, their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the designs of which they are preparing, in a very short time, to attempt the execution in direct co-operation with France.

The danger to be apprehended from these Societies is much increased, from the constant communication which they maintain with the Societies in Ireland; their mutual confidence in each other; and the alarming circumstance of their being, at this moment, subject to the same secret direction, and the same Chiefs.

These Societies have been instituted, not only in London, but in different parts of the Country, and have formed themselves into sub-divisions. In the Appendix are inserted printed Forms of Certificates
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of Election to the Society, which were seized among the Papers of a Person long engaged in this Conspiracy. One of these Forms has been framed for a 'London Society.' The other appears to relate to a Society called an '*External Society*.' The impression of the seal on the former of them is the same with that of the seal found in the custody of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when he was apprehended. The reference in these Certificates to the Constitution and the Test, confirm the unquestionable information which your Committee have received, that these Societies form a part of the dreadful System which was unhappily established in Ireland. The Constitution of the United Irishmen, such as was acted upon in Ireland, appears to regulate their proceedings; and Copies of this Constitution have been found in the possession of persons principally concerned in promoting these Meetings. The views which they entertain at this moment, and the sanguine hopes with which they look to their accomplishment, are apparent in an inflammatory and treasonable Paper recently found at one of these Meetings, of which Government had received intelligence, and the persons present at which, were consequently apprehended. This Paper is inserted in the Appendix. Other papers, seized at the same Meeting strongly confirm the account which your Committee have received, that a mode has lately been adopted by these Societies (similar to that practised both in Ireland and Scotland) of keeping the accounts of the Society, by substituting different numbers for the Names of the Members. Your Committee think it also not immaterial to insert in the Appendix, Copy of a printed Card, which has been found in the possession of different persons, and particularly among other seditious Papers, in that of a person recently apprehended,

prehended, who, there is reason to believe, has been very lately chosen to act as General Secretary to the different Societies of United Irishmen now in London. The person named in this card, and the transaction to which it relates, are such as to require no comment.

Your Committee have received different accounts of the numbers of this Society; but, though their force is probably exaggerated by themselves, for evident reasons, there is sufficient ground for believing that their numbers have been long considerable.—Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become Members of this Society. But the most active part consists of those Irish Rebels who have fled to this Country; rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the Countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here, waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects, to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid, and form the Committee, by means of which, a constant correspondence is carried on, through Hamburgh, with France.

Among these Plans, there is good reason to believe, that early in 1798, it was seriously in agitation among the Conspirators in Ireland, to convey, in small vessels, from Ireland to England, a great number of United Irishmen; and to land them on different parts of the Coast, with instructions to divide themselves into small bodies, and to endeavour to make their way to the Capital in the manner least liable to suspicion, under the disguise of those trades and occupations

occupations in which the Irish, commonly resorting hither, are principally engaged. Their object is represented to have been that of co-operating with the Corresponding Society, in effecting an Insurrection in London, at the time of the Rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing reinforcements being sent to that Country ; and the plan is said to have failed from the Corresponding Society shrinking from the execution of it.

About the same period, another project was secretly formed (of which your Committee have received more distinct information), for collecting at one point, a chosen body of the most determined from among the United Irish employed on the River Thames, to whom a new oath of secrecy, obedience, and fidelity was to be administered. Large rewards were to be promised. They were to be kept wholly ignorant of the precise service they were intended to perform, till the moment of its execution, which was to take place as soon as an attack on some part of the Coast was announced on the part of the French. They were then to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three divisions, and were to make an attack, by surprize, at the same moment, on both Houses of Parliament, on the Tower, and on the Bank.

The intelligence obtained from time to time by Government, respecting the proceedings and plans of the Conspirators, the seizure and detention of some of the intended Leaders, and perhaps the timidity or reluctance of some of the parties concerned, prevented any open attempt to realize these extravagant designs, when they were first in contemplation.

But, notwithstanding the continuance of every precaution, and although these Conspirators cannot be ignorant of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined spirit and general loyalty with which such an enterprize would be immediately resisted, your Committee have received undoubted proofs that plans of this nature are now, more than ever, in agitation. Attempts are actually making, by Agents from Ireland, to concert with the French Government the time for a fresh and general insurrection in Ireland. Intelligence has been received, that in the Ports of France the utmost diligence is used in preparing another Expedition to co-operate with the Rebels in that Kingdom. The time for making this attempt, seems to be, in a great measure, fixed. The expectation which appears to be generally entertained among the Traitors in Ireland, tallies, in this respect, with the intelligence which has been laid before your Committee ; and this expectation has been particularly communicated from thence to their Confederates in this Country. It seems to be intended, at the same time, to attempt a diversion by another French force on different parts of the Coasts of this kingdom. The manner in which such expeditions are likely to be calculated to advance the ends of the Conspirators, both in Great-Britain and Ireland and the species of warfare which the French had in contemplation, will be sufficiently evident from a reference to the instructions of Tate, who was made prisoner in Wales, which are printed in the Appendix to the Report made last Session, on the treatment of Prisoners of War, and to those of Humbert, who commanded the force which landed last year in Ireland, and who had also been destined to command an Expedition against Cornwall, which are inserted in the Appendix to this Report.

For

For the purpose of co-operating with these attempts, and particularly with the same view as that to which the measures before enumerated were directed in the beginning of 1798, that of preventing, if possible, reinforcements being sent from hence to Ireland. It is also part of the plan, that an effort should be made to create an Insurrection in the Metropolis, and in some other parts of the kingdom where these Societies are most numerous. Your Committee are fully confident, that while plans of this nature continue to be traced and known, and while Government retains the means which it at present possesses, such wild and desperate projects may be expected to lead only to consequences destructive to their authors. But your Committee are at the same time so forcibly struck with the view they have had of this part of the system, and with the peculiar danger continually arising from the Society of United Irishmen, which they deem to be in its nature incompatible with the secure maintenance of public tranquillity, that they have thought it necessary to bring it thus distinctly under the immediate consideration of the House.

SOCIETIES AT HAMBURGH.

In addition to this mass of Treason in Great Britain and in Ireland, your Committee find that, for the purpose of more convenient communication between France and Ireland, a Committee of United Irishmen has been formed at Hamburgh. That place has long been the receptacle of those disaffected persons who have fled from Great Britain or Ireland, either from the apprehension of the consequences of the treasonable practices in which they have been engaged, or for the purpose of assisting the Conspiracies carried on against their respective Countries; and with the latter

latter view it has been the centre of a Correspondence which has long subsisted among the British and Irish Societies established at that place, as well as in London and Paris; and this Correspondence with Great Britain and Ireland, has frequently been covered by the pretences of commercial transactions, or of communicating intelligence for the Public Newspapers.

Hamburgh has also been the resort of the disaffected of every other Country, whose intrigues are constantly directed to the object of spreading the principles of Jacobinism in Holstein and the North of Germany, and generally in all the Northern parts of Europe. Many Emisseries, English, Scotch, and Irish, have been dispatched from time to time from Hamburgh to Great Britain and Ireland, and to various parts of the Continent, as circumstances required.— There has recently been established at Hamburgh, Altona, and the neighbourhood, a Society called—“The Philanthropic Society,” for the purpose of correspondence with the Republicans of all Countries, on the plan of the Corresponding Societies established in Great Britain and Ireland; and whose avowed object is the Reform of all Kingdoms and States. The leading Members of this Society, who direct all the rest, compose a Committee of about twenty persons, British, French, Dutch, and Germans. The Members of the subordinate Societies at Hamburgh and Altona are all under the controul of the Committee or principal Society before mentioned. This Committee constantly corresponds with Great Britain and Ireland, and all the parts of Germany. It has Secretaries skilled in different languages, and corresponding Agents in different Towns, particularly in London. It may become a formidable engine in the hands of the
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the French Directory, and it appears to be making considerable progress : but there is reason to hope, that it has at length attracted the notice of the Governments of those places.

Upon a review of all the circumstances which have come under the consideration of your Committee, they are deeply impressed with the conviction, that the safety and tranquillity of these Kingdoms have, at different periods from the year 1791 to the present time, been brought into imminent hazard, by the traitorous plans and practices of Societies, acting upon the principles, and devoted to the views, of our inveterate Foreign Enemy :

That although the Society of United Irishmen in Ireland, has alone been enabled to attain its full strength and maturity ; yet the Societies instituted on similar principles in this Country, had all an undoubted tendency to produce similar effects, if they had not being checked by the general demonstrations of the zeal and spirit of His Majesty's faithful Subjects, and by the timely and judicious use of those extraordinary powers, which Parliament has in its wisdom, from time to time, confided to His Majesty's Government :

That, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourse and connection has been maintained between all these Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and that the real objects of the instigators of these proceedings in both Kingdoms were no other than the entire overthrow of the British Constitution, the general confiscation of property, and the erection of a Democratic Republic, founded on the ruins of all Religion, and of all political and civil Society, and framed after the model of France.

The vigorous resistance opposed to the Rebellion in Ireland, the success of the measures which have been

been employed for detecting and defeating the designs of the Conspirators here, and the general and ardent spirit of loyalty and attachment to the Laws and Constitution, have hitherto counteracted the progress of the mischief, and averted impending danger; but even those circumstances by no means appear to your Committee to justify the hope that the mischief is eradicated, or the danger passed.

The principles and views of the Conspirators remain unchanged. Their reliance on the assistance and co-operation of France, by which they expect ultimately to effect their purposes, continues undiminished. And the system of those secret Societies, which are at once the instruments of seditious conspiracy at home, and the channel of treasonable correspondence with France, though in many parts broken and interrupted, is by no means destroyed.

Your committee have already referred to the positive information laid before them, stating that hostile preparations are now making, with extraordinary vigour and exertion, in some of the Ports of France, for the invasion of this Country or of Ireland. The activity of seditious and treasonable Societies, in their correspondence with France, and in their endeavours to gain proselytes here, keeps pace with the preparations of the Enemy; and the principle of secrecy, generally enforced by unlawful Oaths, which is the great characteristic of these Societies, peculiarly fits them for the most desperate enterprizes, and by holding out a prospect of security, increases the means of seduction. It has, at the same time an obvious tendency to elude detection in the first instance, and to defeat legal enquiry in the next. To this principle, therefore, in the opinion of your Committee, such

such further measures as Parliament in its wisdom may think fit to adopt for the Public Safety, should be more immediately and decisively pointed.

Your Committee have seen, with satisfaction, the powers which in conformity to the ancient practice and true principles of the Constitution, have from time to time, as the urgency required, been confided to His Majesty's Government; and they feel it their duty particularly to remark, that the power of arresting and detaining suspected persons (a remedy so constantly resorted to by our ancestors in all cases of temporary and extraordinary danger) has under the present new and unprecedented circumstances, been found particularly efficient. It has greatly interrupted and impeded the Correspondence with the Enemy, and has checked, from time to time, the progress and communication of Sedition and Treason at home. But from particular circumstances which have come under the observation of your Committee, in the course of their enquiry, they feel it their duty to remark, that the good effects of this measure would be rendered more compleat, and the public tranquillity better secured, if the leading persons who have been, or may be, hereafter detained on suspicion of treasonable practices shall hereafter be kept in custody in places sufficiently distant from the Metropolis.

The whole of the Secret Information which has been laid before your Committee, has strongly confirmed them in their opinion of the necessity of confiding these extraordinary powers to His Majesty's Government; and the very circumstances which created this necessity, and which continue at this time to operate more powerfully than ever, have rendered it their peculiar duty to abstain from disclo-

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ing, in its full extent, the particular information, of which they have stated to the House the general result, and on which their judgment is founded, but they trust that they have laid before the House sufficient grounds to justify their persuasion, that the multiplied and various attempts, by which the Enemies to their Country carry on their dangerous Conspiracies, can only be defeated by a corresponding vigilance on the part of Government, and by the exercise of such additional powers, as may from time to time be entrusted to it by Parliament, and may be best adapted to the peculiar exigency of the moment. And altho' your Committee do not think it any part of their province to suggest particular measures, the consideration of which must be left to the wisdom of Parliament ;— they cannot forbear particularly and earnestly pressing their unanimous opinion, that the system of Secret Societies, the establishment of which has in other Countries uniformly preceded the aggression of France, and by facilitating the progress of her principles, has prepared the way for her arms, cannot be suffered to exist in these Kingdoms, compatibly with the safety of their Government and Constitution, and with their security against Foreign Force and Domestic Treason.

Your Committee have great satisfaction in adding, that if this growing and formidable evil can be effectually repressed, and if the same system of vigilance and precaution which has been successfully adopted for some years past, is adhered to, there is every reason to look forward with confidence to the ultimate disappointment and defeat of the projects which have been so long pursued by our Foreign and Domestic Enemies. Impressed with a just sense of the blessings enjoyed under our happy Constitution, which
distinguish

distinguish this Country from every Nation in Europe, all ranks and conditions of Society have shewn their determination to preserve those blessings entire, and have stood forward with a becoming ardour and alacrity in their defence.—While this laudable spirit continues to pervade every part of the Kingdom, and while the wisdom of the Legislature encourages and directs its exertions for the public Safety, your Committee entertain a full conviction that the Religion, the Laws, and the Constitution of Great Britain, and with them the interests and happiness of all classes of his Majesty's Subjects, will in the midst of surrounding danger and calamity, and in spite of every machination at home or abroad, rest under the protection of Divine Providence, on the surest basis, secured by the energy and firmness of the Government, and by the courage, the patriotism, and the virtue of the Nation.

APPENDIX

TO THE FOREGOING REPORT.

COPY of the **TEST** proposed by the *United Englishmen*, to be used by the *Soldiers*.

*" I A. B. do swear not to obey the Colonel, but the
" People, not the Officers, but the Committee of United
" Englishmen, then sitting in England, Ireland, and
" Scotland, and to assist with arms, as far as lies in my
" power, to establish a Republican form of Government
" in this Country, and others, and to assist the French
" on their landing to free this Country.*

" SO HELP ME GOD."

COPY of an **ADDRESS** to the **PEOPLE** of **IRELAND** taken at Division, No. 2, of the **UNITED IRISHMEN**, 10th *March*, 1799.*

" TO THE PEOPLE.

" MEN OF IRELAND,

" Persevere—the cause of freedom must finally prevail. What has hitherto taken place, instead of discouraging you, should rather inspire the most animating

* This Paper was found under the table at which the United Irishmen were sitting, who were recently apprehended at the Royal Oak Public-house, near Red Lion-square.

mating confidence of success. If a few counties, ill armed and officered, were able to seize so many towns, and baffle for months near 100,000 troops, long trained to arms, nurtured in blood, and furnished with every requisite for war; if by the mere energy which the love of Liberty inspires, they defeated them on many occasions, and never were defeated till their own ammunition was exhausted, what would have been the result had the whole nation risen at once properly armed and organized; if in the very moment when recent discomfiture dispirited the brave, and the fallacious hopes of lenity neutralized the mild and irresolute 900 Frenchmen, with only three field-pieces, were able to defeat three armies, take several towns, and a whole train of artillery, kill double their own number, and almost unassisted, penetrate to the very centre of the island, what would as many thousands have accomplished when supported by the entire population of the country!

“ Had you been prepared to aid even that handful of auxiliaries by intercepting or delaying convoys and reinforcements, they must have triumphed. But although you were not then called prematurely into action, the time will speedily arrive when you must be summoned to employ those arms which have lately been distributed.

“ Harken no longer to those insolent implacable upstarts who boast of having wantonly made war upon a long suffering people, and goaded you into rebellion, by burning, rape, robbery, murder, torture, and every other diabolical expedient inquisitorial cruelty could devise, and who, in the same breath, impudently insult you with the ostentatious parade of mercy; when they are wearied, not satiated, with slaughter and proscription.

“ When

“ When the event of the late Infurrection appeared doubtful, and the Capital was blockaded by your arms, the inefficacy of open force suggested to the coward Chancellor the ready aid of fraud: ‘ We must pardon them,’ said he; ‘ or if the country continues in its present state, it will be impossible for us to go on.’” A general amnesty was accordingly held out, and this perfidious clemency extolled, while a clandestine persecution was continued, to provoke you to acts that might palliate the meditated severities.

“ Now that these equivocal measures have paralyzed and divided you, where is the mercy of your tyrants? Will they rebuild for you those cabins, whose flames they have extinguished with innocent blood? Will they allow you to starve unmolested in your native air, which their hireling ruffians have polluted with pestilential carnage? Or to weep over the desolation of your families in the arms of your childless consorts, whom Hessian ravishers have branded with infamy and disease? No! This would be too great an indulgence for traitors who dare to vindicate by arms the common rights of men.

“ By the boasted Act of Amnesty His Most *Gracious* Majesty excludes from his Royal mercy ‘ all who were in custody at any time since the year 1794, on any charge of treason, suspicion of treason, or treasonable practices; all Yeomen who have deserted, or who administered any oath or obligation; all who carried on, consented to, assisted, or were concerned in any design or proposal for invading, or procuring an invasion, or corresponding with a Foreign Power; all Members of any Executive, National, or County Committee; all concerned in said *horrid and unnatural Rebellion*, who do not deliver up arms and ammunition of every kind within a time to be appointed; all

all attainted, or to be attainted this Session, or convicted by Court Martial since last May; all offenders against the Mutiny Act,' &c.

“ With such numerous exclusions from forgiveness, it is hard to say who can escape, for the act of any one United Irishman being interpreted as the act of all, and the acts of the Society as those of every Member, there is not one who will not directly or constructively fall under some of the above descriptions.

“ Trust not, therefore, to such a deceitful mockery of mercy (which, were it serious, would only ensure the continuance of all your grievances), but depend solely on your own arms, and the promised succour of your friends, who have already given you an earnest of what they can, and what they will perform. Rest assured, whatever the tools of Government may assert of the disgust the French have conceived at your inactivity, they will very soon send the promised force of at least 10,000 troops, with an ample supply of military stores. If they find your men unprepared, you will have no excuse; and instead of forming an independent Republic, must submit to remain in the abject, miserable condition of a tributary province.

“ Arm, therefore, but without any violence, which may afford a pretence for reviving the sanguinary system of terror; and hide your arms with additional care, for new Bills are framing to take them from you, and rigorous searches will speedily take place. Hold no meetings, but transmit singly and briefly to your tried friends, those instructions which may soon issue for vigorous and active measures. Abstain from spirits, and every exciseable article that contributes to recruit the exhausted revenues of a bankrupt Government, supported only by your vices, which enables them

them to maintain their hordes of regimented assassins. Intoxication has not only laid open your hearts to informers, but stimulated you headlong into danger, and disabled you equally to fight or fly. Take warning from the decisive battles which, to the disgrace of Ireland, you have lost by that alone, and reserve whatever you can save by future sobriety to purchase ammunition for the approaching deliverance of your country.

“ Those whom you have chosen still watch over your interests, and will not rashly hazard your safety. When a proper occasion offers, their summons will issue in the customary official channel, and it will not be their fault if it does not at once extend to every part of Ireland; and then shall your oppressors see how much sooner the trained bands of corruption are exhausted, than a population of above four millions, roused by every provocation, and resolved on liberty or death; and then shall those, who now charge you with barbarity, supplicate and receive that mercy which themselves denied.”

Extract from the instructions given to Brigadier-General HUMBERT, commanding the Secret Expedition entrusted to the Legion de Francs.

The expedition of Gen. Humbert has three principal objects in view; The first is to put the Country into a state of insurrection; the second is to embarrass the commerce of our rivals; the third is to prepare and facilitate the means of making a descent, by giving the greatest perplexity to the English Government.

The class of people the most easily to be moved to insurrection, as in all countries, is the poorest class. This may be effected by distributing money or drink
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among them ; by ascribing to the Government the public wretchedness ; by instigating them, and facilitating their means to revolt, to pillage the public granaries, and to plunder the property of the rich, whom they always regard with an eye of envy.

It is, however, necessary to observe, that how regardless soever the English people may be of morality, they are attached to their laws, and respect their magistrates, even during the insurrections which have sometimes taken place ; it will therefore be expedient to spare the property belonging to, or in any wise connected with, the civil and municipal magistracy. It will also be adviseable to pursue the same line of policy with respect to the country landholders and merchants. The expences must then be borne by the great, the Lords (those who belong to the opposition party are to be spared, whenever they are known,) the Ministers, the naval and military officers, especially those of the militia. The houses, the granaries, the cattle, the forests, and every thing belonging to any of these, must be distributed among the people, or pillaged by them.—These calamities, which those of the Republic compel us to inflict, and to which a ferocious nation constrains us to expose it, will induce many of the labouring people and the rabble of the country to espouse our cause ; but they must on no account be incorporated with our own troops ; they must be formed into new corps, and placed under the command of French officers belonging to the legion, in order that no native of the country may become acquainted with the state of our force. They should also be kept separate, and as much in ignorance in this respect as circumstances will permit. It is principally by means of the new companies that the insurrection will be fomented.

With respect to the embarrassing of commerce, this may be best effected by breaking down bridges, dikes,
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and caufeways (which is indeed neceffary for the purpofe of felf-prefervation); by plundering convoys of provifions, and private and public carriages: by cutting off the fupplies deftined for towns; by burning merchant veffels, boats, &c.; by fetting fire to dock-yards, rope-works, and the fail-cloth manufactories. It is alfo to be obferved, that in confequence of thefe operations a number of workmen will be deprived of employment, and will attach themfelves to the party which fupplies them with the means of fubfiftence; a mode of livelihood fo much the more captivating, as the individual himfelf contributes nothing towards it.

The object of the defcent may be facilitated by difarming the militia; by burning the public arsenals and harbours; by intercepting meffengers in the fervice of Government; as well by the declenfion of the troops, through defection and infubordination; and by the terror which the operations of the legion, and the progrefs of the infurrection, will infpire into the minds of thofe who might be inclined to defend the country.

The moft favourable part of the country is that in which forges and manufactories are to be found.

Proviſions muſt be taken wherever they can be found; and if any town or village refuſe immediately to afford a neceſſary ſupply of proviſions, it muſt be given up to pillage. The better to ſtrike terror into the country, the legion ſhould be diſperſed in different columns, and aſſemble again at a general rendezvous. This operation ſhould be repeated every four, fix, or eight days. The inhabitants of the country muſt be employed as guides: whoever ſhall refuſe to act in that capacity muſt be puniſhed on the ſpot.—Magiſtrates ſhould always be preferred for that ſervice, or ſome of their relations, in order that they may be deterred from puniſhing thoſe unfortunate perſons who may be compelled by force to march.

Spies

Spies must be punished with death.

The villages near to any place where the legion, or any column belonging to it, shall have taken refuge, which do not send intelligence or ring their bells on the approach of troops destined to act against the legion, shall be burnt.

In order to avoid the destruction of the troops under his command, General Humbert must decline coming to an engagement with regular forces, and must only attack small detachments, and cantonments, and weak posts. He must invite deserters from the enemy, and likewise prisoners, to enlist into the new corps. If they should refuse, their hair and their eye-brows must be cut off; and if they should happen to be retaken, they are to be shot.

General Humbert will not fail to bear in mind, that there are in England a great number of Frenchmen who will hasten to join him. These are the prisoners of war, both soldiers and sailors, the soldiers belonging to the emigrant regiments, and a number of others whose wretchedness, and a thirst of vengeance, would allure to his standard.

He is at liberty to admit Frenchmen into the legion; but he must employ the utmost vigilance to prevent those new comers from entering into cabals. Those who would be most inclined to these practices are the Nobles and the Priests, whose ambition is equal to their cowardice.

Any attempt to excite mutiny must be severely punished.

The districts, the militia of which shall have attempted to oppose the march of the legion, must also be punished with severity; and, as far as it may be practicable, such militia must be disarmed, and their arms put into the hands of the new insurgents. The greatest care must be employed to guard the ammunition.

General

General Humbert who will be assisted by the knowledge and talents of his principal officers, will not omit to avail himself of every occurrence that may enable him to increase the strength and confidence of his party; the object so much to be wished for. He must spare and protect the poor and the aged, the widow and the orphan, and throw the burthen of the war on the shoulders of the rich, who are the authors of our calamities.

The militia, and any other troops that may join us, shall be admitted to the same indulgence; Irish sailors also, who shall join us, shall be treated in the same manner; and they shall be paid, according to the full and fair valuation of them, for such ships or vessels as they shall bring into the ports in your possession, or even into the ports of France. But if, contrary to all probability, and in spite of the justice of your cause, any Irishman should be found so degenerate, so insensible to the glory and to the safety of his country, as to sacrifice them to his own selfish views, and to be induced to take part against us, I declare, that, whenever any of them shall fall into our hands, they shall be treated, not as prisoners of war, like other English troops, but as rebels and traitors to their country, and all their effects shall be confiscated.

We shall call upon the public and legal authorities likewise to confiscate the property of runaways or emigrants, as well as of persons who under an insidious neutrality, shall remain passive spectators of the dangers of their country, and reserve to themselves the opportunity of declaring their sentiments, without danger, in favour of the victorious party; and of all kinds of baseness this being the most contemptible, it shall involve not only confiscation of the property, but the banishment of him who shall be guilty of it.

THE END.

